2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-8) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

meltash. We had had many native servants of many races and shades of colour in our time—including a French-speaking negro in Kerman long ago—whom we have grown fond of and who, I think, have been fond of us, but never anyone so entirely lovable as Dido of Hunza.

While the summer lasted we were able to have as much fresh fruit, green vegetables, and potatoes as we could use, so that we were really very well off.

Several other problems that had threatened in advance to be serious solved themselves more easily than we had feared. The Political Agent's office in Gilgit has to send a post bag up to Hunza three times a week and they allowed our letters and parcels to come along in a separate bag to be dropped at Aliábád without payment of any extra postage. This was a great luxury, and we were amazed to find letters and newspapers coming through to us in exactly a calendar month from home. They could also send up in the mail-bag small quantities of white flour, sugar, raisins, rice, salt, matches, and cigarettes from the Gilgit bazaar—all unobtainable locally.

We needed money only to pay the wages and the daily milk, vegetables, etc. We had a strong suspicion that Shafi, for the few days he spent in charge of things, was gravely over-charging on the petty account, as well as making away with tea and sugar—having learnt, as I have said, more than his prayers in India. All the real Hunza men are so scrupulously straight that this distressed us. So we were doubly glad to have exchanged him for honest Zaidu.

At first all sorts of people kept bringing us gifts of fruit—apricots, pears, melons, peaches, apples, tomatoes (introduced like the potato by the British and much appreciated because they can be dried for winter use). This gift-business, however, is expensive for the recipient. If the Mir or any of the princes or any person of importance sent things, we must of course tip the people who brought them—not in proportion to the actual value of the articles, but to the dignity of the sender and ourselves. If a humbler person brought them we obviously must tip him also. As we could in season buy as much fruit and vegetables as we could use for about a half-

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

431 penny a day (even when Shafi was profiteering!), and as you can't well tip anyone, even the humblest, less than about sixpence (and if there are several big man's retainers it may run into many shillings), the getting of gifts is very costly! We were glad when the flow of gifts presently dried up a bit. There was always great rejoicing in our back quarters when *mahash* was presented, for as we could not possibly use it ourselves (not even for cooking) it was solemnly passed on (as soon as the donor was out of sight) to the servants to divide. I called them all up and handed it over publicly to ensure that all should get a fair share. They never seemed to quarrel about the division, but effected it on some well-understood principle of their own, so perhaps my precaution was unnecessary; but it's unfair to lead such generous-hearted people into temptation, and *mahash* is dearer to their hearts than much fine gold.

296 The only other major problem was the washing. I had quite expected that we might have to get the things washed in the house, and do with rough-dried sheets and towels, occasionally sending shirts and collars down to Gilgit. I do wish men could wear silk undies that only need a rinse. But we heard that there was in Báltít a "merchant" who had at one time been washerman to some British officer, so we made enquiries and asked him to come and see me. He didn't seem at all keen; he wasn't really a *dhobi*, he said, and he hadn't a "proper iron," and he could not starch or "get up" evening shirts. (I could not myself imagine David wilfully wearing "boiled shirts" in camp.) But we turned Qudrat Ullah on to have a talk with him as knowing all the local conditions and people, and so friend Baráto of Báltít agreed to take a small "wash" and see what he could do with it. To my delight he brought everything back clean and beautifully pressed with whatever "improper" iron he had. We had another chat, and if that was all I wanted done he was more than willing to do all our washing for 15s. a month—less than half my laundry bill at home, where we only send the larger things out! In theory he was going to earn his money. He was to carry the wash to the springs at Murtazábád, by the big river. You will remember it is a good five or six miles away, across the Hasanábád gorge and

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

aluminium ones, a few had even iron buckets. Several people were busy serving, while the headmen acted as masters of the ceremonies. Every household—there are two hundred all told in Aliábád—was entitled to carry off one chunk of meat and one ladleful each of *sherbet* and *harisa* for each mouth at home.

As always in this happy place, the company was full of jokes, laughter, and good temper. There was no hustling, no jostling, no attempt by anyone to secure more than his due share. Any person who had lent one of the big cauldrons (they are costly vessels brought up from down country) was granted an extra "mouthful" as hire, and anyone who had lent a penknife for cutting up was given an extra chunk of meat impaled on it. The people who had lent the tripods were not entitled to anything extra; this apparent injustice was thus explained: "You are fond of your cooking-cauldron; you are fond of your penknife; but no one could possibly be fond of a tripod."

We moved about for some time among the crowd, greeting old acquaintances and making new ones, then the people insisted that we must sit down, cleared one of the stone sofas, dashed into the Assembly Hall and brought out a carpet and spread it for us, while one of the headmen came and sat by explaining the procedure of the festival and naming the various utensils. As the light grew David took a few photographs, but by that time most of the carcases had been hacked to bits and a large number of households, having got their share, had gone home to celebrate a sort of family Christmas dinner with it. Nor for the first time, still less for the last, I regretted my lack of enterprise in sticking to my old familiar quarter-plate camera with its lens working only to F.6.3. David with his 3.5's could get photographs in much weaker light than I.

They insisted on pressing on us a "share" for each of our servants. How can you assess, how hope to repay, the generosity of these hospitable people? Remember that hardly any house has more than *just enough* to eat for the year; yet they must share their feast with our relatively pampered retainers! We could only gratefully accept and as a poor return offer the headman some money for distribution as they thought best "to the orphans and the poor." Hunza has, of course, no charitable

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any unweaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *rúli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to be "a daughter of the Buróng," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gimo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltit, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltit when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific innovations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AVT Burusho AVT

Then from the house of entertainment there is (sent) a dish on which they put as the Wazīr's portion, a leg (of mutton), and *sherbat* along with bread; and also there is a dish apiece for the Headman and the two Hunza Trangfas on which they put a leg. Then for the cooks there are the fat of the two goats and their necks and skins. And for the musicians there is from ancient times a wooden jar which it is the custom to give to them filled with the oil from the *sherbat*. From that evening's food they set something aside and in the morning, and they bring it with *gurūt tasmik* from the host's house to the place of assembly.

When the Tham stays thus for a month or two months in Herber every day the people who are exempt from carrying loads bring to the Tham's house two goats and a lump of ghee and bread, which they have made with 15 *chaqs* of grain, and *sherbat*. And every day the Tham gives green grass to the Elders for their horses. To the Wazīr grass is given from five houses and they give the Wazīr one *chuti* of grain (for his horse). For the horses each village gives (him?) a rope.

When the hospitalities have come to an end they give a goat and bread (made) of five *chaqs* of grain. This is called *Otaq*. The custom of *Otaq* is as follows: One field has been given to each of them by the Thams and on that they have imposed the *Otaq* tax. Further the exempted man every year gives the Tham as *ilhaw* four animals viz. one he-goat, one ram, one she-goat and one yearling kid. Followers of the second rank and load-carriers give every year three animals viz. one she-goat, one sheep and one yearling kid. Those are the tax (imposed) on load-carriers. Further, each household gives the Tham four (measures of) grain, which they call *salūr jūti* and each household gives a *kichuti* of barley, which is called *gushé gurā*. It is the custom also for every village to give one rope each for as many dogs and horses as there may be.

The Khudā-abād *ilhaw* is (assigned) to Gushpur Nafīs, and the Nazīmābād *ilhaw* to Shāhāz Khān and the Misgār *ilhaw* is vested

19 *gaše gurā* — Wakhi for "horse's barley"; *gaš* 'horse' and *gurā* 'barley'.

21 *Nazimabad* — the older name of this place was *Gilkit Das*.

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The 273 grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 Tumushuling, the great winter cele-585 bration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan 431 from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do 392 marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival. 643 The Mir gives a small gift, usually a 491 piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza 583 marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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following each other round and round in a circle—sometimes with sword and shield and the usual flourishes, sometimes with nothing in their hands, now posturing slowly, again flying round with long jumps and steps. In Nagar every one dances—the younger sons of the Thum, Wazirs, and the common herd, all take part. In the pre-Mahomedan days the women also danced, and I should not be surprised if amongst themselves they did not even now join in, but, of course, not on a state occasion, or before strangers. Immediately after the dance came a couple of hours of polo, still to the accompaniment of the band, which played just below our tents, and whose monotonous noise became maddening.

In the evening I dismissed the son of the Hunza Wazir, who had come with letters from the Thum, with my answer and a present. He was good enough to express himself quite satisfied personally, at which I was surprised, for he was wearing a coat of velvet covered with gold embroidery, worth at least five-and-twenty pounds, the outcome of Lockhart's lavish habits of largesse. It was a much more magnificent garment than any I had to give his master, and of much greater value than the present I could afford to give him. He informed me, however, that a scoundrel with him, to whom I had given some money and a choga, was going away hopeless, because I had not promised to renew to him a pension which his father had drawn from the Kashmir Durbar. They were difficult people to deal with in some ways, showed no sense of proportion in making their demands, and really, I believe, could not understand that there must be some limit to one's power of giving rewards.